

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-25

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S E C R E T OTTAWA 1926

SECTO 115

DEPT ALSO PASS ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP: (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)  
SUBJECT: SECRETARY KISSINGER'S STATEMENT AT NAC CLOSED SESSION,  
JUNE 18.

THERE FOLLOWS TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S REMARKS  
CONCERNING ATLANTIC RELATIONS UNDER THE FIRST AGENDA  
ITEM AT NAC CLOSED SESSION, JUNE 18. REMARKS ARE NOT  
RPT NOT CLEARED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE. BEGIN TEXT.

I INTEND TO SPEAK IN THE RESTRICTED SESSION ABOUT THE  
STATUS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS ESPECIALLY ABOUT THE FORTHCOMING  
SUMMIT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL  
AS ON THE MIDDLE EAST. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SAY TO MY NEW FRENCH  
COLLEAGUE THAT I WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO RECIPROcate HIS  
COURTESY AND CONCLUDE MY REMARKS IN FRENCH BUT FOR THE SAKE  
OF THE TENDER FRANCO-UNITED STATES RELATIONS I DARE NOT DO  
THIS BECAUSE I NEVER SPEAK FRENCH TO CIVILIZED PEOPLE.

THE ATLANTIC RELATIONS IN THE LAST YEAR HAS UNDERGONE A RATHER  
INTENSE DEBATE, THE INTENSITY OF WHICH SOMETIMES OBSCURED

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THE FACT THAT WHAT STARTED THE DIALOGUE WAS THE INTENTION ON

THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES TO GIVE A NEW PERSPECTIVE TO AN ALLIANCE WHICH IT CONSIDERED HEALTHY AND TO MAKE THE ALLIANCE IN THE NEXT QUARTER OF A CENTURY AS VITAL AN INSTRUMENT FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS AS IT HAD BEEN IN THE FIRST 25 YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE.

IT ALSO SOMETIMES OBSCURED THE FACT THAT THERE WAS NO DISAGREEMENT AMONG MY COLLEAGUES IN THIS ROOM ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING IT WITH NEW VISION DURING THE NEXT QUARTER OF A CENTURY. INDEED, I AM HAPPY TO PAY TRIBUTE TO THE FACT THAT THE DECLARATION WHICH WE WILL CONCLUDE HERE WAS PROPOSED BY THE PREVIOUS FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER IN ITS ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS.

IT IS INEVITABLE IN AN ALLIANCE THAT THERE MAY BE DISAGREEMENTS AS TO METHODS, AND CONDITIONS HAVE CHANGED ENORMOUSLY SINCE THE ORIGIN OF ITS ALLIANCE. WHEN THE ALLIANCE WAS FORMED WE WERE IN A PERIOD OF COLD WAR AND IT WAS EASY TO VIEW ALL THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN TERMS OF AN IMMINENT SOVIET THREAT. TODAY, AS THE PREVIOUS SPEAKERS HAVE POINTED OUT, WE ARE IN A PERIOD OF DETENTE WITH ALL ITS AMBIGUITIES, A PERIOD IN WHICH ALL OUR COUNTRIES ARE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND IN WHICH ALL OUR COUNTRIES ARE ATTEMPTING TO MODERATE THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE COMMUNIST STATES. AND THIS MUST BE DONE WITH ALL DUE ATTENTION TO THE WARNINGS THAT WERE ENUNCIATED, BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL, THE FACT REMAINS THAT TO MAINTAIN MILITARY PREPAREDNESS SIDE BY SIDE WITH CONSTANT NEGOTIATION IS AN INFINITELY MORE COMPLEX TASK THAN THE ONE THAT FACED US EARLIER.

SECONDLY, WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT THE LEGAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONFINED GEOGRAPHICALLY, IT IS ALSO TRUE -- AND EVENTS OF THE LAST YEAR HAVE PROVED IT -- THAT THE SECURITY OF ALL OF US CAN BE INTIMATELY AFFECTED BY EVENTS THAT OCCUR OUTSIDE THE FORMAL AREA OF OUR OBLIGATIONS. AND FOR US TO OVERLOOK THIS FACT, OR TO BELIEVE THAT WE CAN COMPETE IN ANOTHER AREA WHILE CO-OPERATING IN OUR PRINCIPAL AREA, IS PROBABLY A WRONG PERSPECTIVE. JUST AS DETENTE CANNOT BE USED SELECTIVELY, THE ALLIANCE ALSO CANNOT BE USED ENTIRELY SELECTIVELY.

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THESE WERE THE PROBLEMS WHICH OCCUPIED US DURING THE LAST YEAR. IN SOME RESPECTS THEY TOOK AN UNFORTUNATE FORM BY BEING TURNED INTO A DEBATE ABOUT THE LEGAL OBLIGATIONS TO CONSULT. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY FULL AGREEMENT WITH MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE ABOUT HIS OBSERVATION WITH RESPECT TO CONSULTATION.

CONSULTATION CANNOT BE EXPRESSED AS A LEGALLY BINDING OBLIGATION. THE UNITED STATES HAS NO INTENTION A YEAR FROM NOW TO START

WAVING THIS DOCUMENT AT ITS ALLIES AND POINT TO A PARTICULAR PARAGRAPH AS CONSTITUTING AN OBLIGATION ON OUR ALLIES - THAT IS NOT THE PURPOSE OF THIS DECLARATION. THE PURPOSE OF THIS DECLARATION IS TO SYMBOLIZE THE SPIRIT OF OUR CO-OPERATION. IT IS TO DEMONSTRATE AT THIS PERIOD THAT THE FREE NATIONS OF THE WEST ARE CAPABLE OF ACTS OF POLITICAL CREATIVITY, THE FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES NEED NOT BE IDENTIFIED ONLY OR PRIMARILY WITH NEGOTIATIONS WITH OUR ADVERSARIES. IF THIS DECLARATION ACHIEVES WHAT WE INTEND WE WILL NEVER HAVE TO REFER TO IT AGAIN AS AN EXPRESSION OF A MUTUAL OBLIGATION; IT WILL BE EXPRESSED IN OUR PRACTICE BUT NOT BECOME A TOOL IN OUR CONTROVERSIES. AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTRY WHOSE OBLIGATIONS WORLDWIDE ARE PERHAPS GREATER THAN THOSE OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY IN THIS ROOM, THE OBLIGATION OF CONSULTATION WILL BE FULFILLED METICULOUSLY BY US -- NOT BECAUSE PARAGRAPH 11 IS DRAFTED IN SUCH A MANNER THAT WE HAVE NO CHOICE, BUT RATHER BECAUSE WE HOPE THAT THE SPIRIT OF CO-OPERATION IN THE ALLIANCE WILL REACH A POINT THAT OUR RECOGNITION OF OUR COMMON INTERESTS IS SO GREAT THAT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE THE POSSIBILITY OF TAKING MAJOR ACTION WITHOUT THE SUPPORT AND THE UNDERSTANDING OF OUR ALLIES.

AND I THINK THE SAME PRINCIPLE APPLIES TO THE RELATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE TO AREAS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA. IN TERMS OF MILITARY DEFENCE THERE OBVIOUSLY EXISTS NO OBLIGATION OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA. BUT IN TERMS OF OUR ESSENTIAL SECURITY WHAT HAPPENS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO ALL OF US. THEREFORE, THE UNITED STATES HAS NO INTENTION -- AND IT WOULD BE ABSURD -- TO CLAIM AN EXCLUSIVE SPHERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST OR FOR THE UNITED STATES OR ANYBODY ELSE TO BELIEVE THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS OF NO CONCERN TO THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. WE HAVE EXPRESSED SOME DOUBTS ABOUT THE TACTICS OF A CERTAIN ASPECT OF THE SECRET

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APPROACH OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO THE ARAB STATES. BUT IT WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT WE WELCOME A EUROPEAN ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THAT WE WILL ENCOURAGE IT WHEREVER WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO, AND THAT WE BELIEVE IT IN THE COMMON INTEREST THAT WE ARE NOT THE ONLY WESTERN COUNTRY THE IS ACTIVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

SO, I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES THAT WE SEE IN THIS DECLARATION NOT A DEVICE TO BIND OUR ALLIES, NOT AN ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT A MECHANISM FOR EXTENDING THE SPHERE OF AMERICAN POLICY, BUT RATHER AN OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM ONCE AGAIN THE MOST CREATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD. THIS UNDERLINES THAT ON OUR PART WE WILL DO OUR BEST TO INFUSE INTO THE ALLIANCE THAT SPIRIT OF WHICH MY FRENCH

COLLEAGUE SPOKE, IN WHICH LEGAL OBLIGATIONS WILL NEVER BE INVOLVED AND IN WHICH CONSULTATION BECOMES AN ORGANIC NECESSITY OF OUR COMMON OBJECTIVES RATHER THAN AN EMPTY PHRASE IN A DOCUMENT THAT HAS BECOME STERILE.

AND IT IS IN THIS SENSE THAT WE WELCOME THE FACT THAT THIS DECLARATION WILL BE CONCLUDED HERE. I AM POSITIVE THAT WE WILL FIND A FORMULATION THAT REMOVES THE REMAINING RELATIVELY MINOR DIFFERENCES. AND I BELIEVE ALSO THAT THE DISAGREEMENTS OF THE PAST YEAR WHICH HAVE RESULTED FROM THE FACT THAT WE HAVE DEALT WITH SERIOUS PEOPLE REPRESENTING SERIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR COMMON PROGRESS WILL HAVE STRENGTHENED US AS ONLY FREE PEOPLE CAN STRENGTHEN THEMSELVES THROUGH A DEBATE.

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